4/21/78

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Memo	Carter & Beaman to Pres. Carter, 4 pp.,			
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THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Friday - April 21, 1978

8:15	Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.
8:45	Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.
9:00 (30 min.)	Congressional Meeting on Tax Reform. (Mr. Frank Moore) - The Cabinet Room.
9:40 (20 min.)	Meeting with Secretary Joseph Califano et al. (Dr. Peter Bourne) - The Roosevelt Room.
10:30	Mr. Jody Powell - The Oval Office.
11:00 (20 min.)	Mr. Charles Schultze - The Oval Office.
	Meeting with Representatives of National Committee for An Effective Congress. (Ms. Fran Voorde)-Oval Office
11:55 (5 min.)	Congressman Stephen L. Neal. (Mr. Frank Moore). The Oval Office.
•	
1:30 (10 min.)	Mr. Russell Giffen. (Ms. Fran Voorde). The Oval Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
April 21, 1978

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson
cc: The Vice President
Tim Kraft
Phil Wise

DEMOCRATIC PARTNERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION TEAMWORK

STATUS REPORT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

FOR STAFFING FOR INFORMATION

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DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1.625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

John C. White

Ham &-

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The President

FROM:

John C. White

RE:

The Democratic Partnership and Administration

Teamwork

DATE:

April 14, 1978

For the Democratic Partnership between the Administration and Congress, 1977 was a year of learning, of frustration, and of progress.

Yet, the hard realities of organizing government, of securing Congressional support, of dealing with constituents and institutions, and, most of all, of taking on the difficult issues facing our Nation, have begun to manifest themselves in the polls in a public perception of disunity.

Our challenge now is to restore the perception of governing momentum; to strengthen public confidence in the Administration; and to secure working relationships with Congress, with institutions, and with constituencies which are in appearance, as well as in fact, both positive and productive.

I. Present Situation

A. Performance

The Democratic Partnership -- a Democratic President and Democratic Congress -- have compiled a commendable record. The partnership has passed a Clean Air and Clean Water Bill, Youth Jobs, Public Works and Public Service Jobs, a Food and Agricultural Act, Minimum Wage, Legislative and Executive Orders in Civil Rights, Consumer Protection, Housing, Social Security, Strip- Mining, Reorganizational Activities, etc. The President has been more than willing to make tough decisions -- and

to take the political heat on issues such as energy and the Panama Canal. When the tough one of putting together a two-thirds majority on the Canal Treaty was faced, the President was not found wanting.

The President should receive <u>credit</u> for his restoration of <u>open</u>, <u>accountable</u>, <u>accessible</u> government!

The problem is that we Democrats are in the process of dying with the secret. The record is almost invisible. It is neither articulated properly nor politically exploited with the team work nor with the forcefulness it deserves by Administration spokesmen.

B. Constituencies

Little needs to be said about our difficulties with the Jewish community, with Labor, with the Congress, within the Democratic Regular Party, or with the "West". There is a serious question about our understanding of how to achieve, nurture, and utilize institutional support for policy and political goals. As a result, there are almost no institutions willing to go to the barricades for us.

The overall picture is not completely bleak. For example, the National Education Association is extremely supportive of the Administration -- it did get Presidential support for its Department of Education.

But, the lack of broad institutional support, like most things in politics, is hardly grounded in concrete. A strategy can be devised to restore this support.

C. Public Opinion

As always, public opinion is fluid, contradictory, and changeable. On the face of it, the trends were not exactly pro-Administration; the President had suffered a significant drop in job approval. In the same time frame, the President's job approval rating was lower than Truman, Eisenhower,

Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. These comparisons are not fair, because the President faces a much more pessimistic and cynical public than did the previously mentioned Presidents.

The danger in public opinion slippage is that such slippage usually results from a specific event (a pardon for Ford or Watergate for Nixon). Another type of slippage seeems to be slow deterioration of public confidence. It is reflective rather than a reactive slippage. This kind is the most difficult to reverse -- because it reflects judgment calls by people.

Recent trends would indicate that the Administration has bottomed out and we're on the way up again.

E. 1978 Elections

Traditionally, we could expect to lose some seats in Congress in this off-year election. greatest fallout from 1978 would be not just in the loss of Democratic seats. A significant Republican win would translate into a resurgence of Republican momentum for the next two years. would mean a stronger desire of Democratic Party and office holders to increase the distance between themselves and the Administration. mean a more difficult atmosphere for legislative activitiy. It almost assuredly will lead to media stories describing over and over again a "Weakened Administration". It could lead to a vociferious anti-Administration 1978 Mid-Term Democratic Con-It could lead to significant presidential primary opposition. Enough said.

If for no other reason than to keep the dangers of 1978 to a minimum, a concerted effort must be undertaken that combines (1) Administration political goals; (2) Administration manpower; (3) outside assistance, and (4) organization from within the DNC to coordinate and initiate political undertaking.

II. Strategic Consideration

I feel certain that Hamilton has already developed another of his famous strategy memos which looks down the road -- politically, legislatively, conceptually.

Let me emphasize three strategic areas which might deserve some consideration. Much of this goes to the earlier point that one reason the Administration's public fortunes have dropped is that we Democrats are dying with the secret of what we did last year.

I am firmly convinced that the service which this Administration has performed is in the best interest of the American people and their future. Our main problem is that some Administration officials have not articulated these accomplishments in a positive or penetrating way.

We \underline{do} have a $\underline{positive}$ message, but the programing of its delivery is in need of our focus and attention.

A. Public Relations Offensive

The public needs to be constantly reminded of events gone past, especially in a political sense. We tend to forget the vetoes, the loss of public confidence, the official lying, the enemies list, the recessions, the high unemployment, the wage and price freezes, the bitterness, the rancor, and the other sins of past Administrations. Our Administration spokesmen do not seem to be using these politically valuable memories in their presentations or characterizations of politics today.

It is significant that the President has reversed the seige mentality and estrangement of the government from its citizens. But we do not verbalize this.

Rather than scattershot all the initiatives of the Administrators for public support building activities, we might focus on a limited number.

I would suggest that maximum emphasis be centered on the following:

1. Moralistic Appeal - focus on Human Rights and Governmental openess.

- Populistic appeal focus on Civil Service Reform and tax reform.
- Party appeals focus on ecomomic progress, unemployment and inflation.
- Competence appeal taking on the tough ones, energy, and Panama.

In brief, what I suggest is that every speech or media appearance by an Administration member highlight these areas.

Some of the distinguished appointees of the Administration and Cabinet Secretaries are finding it difficult to make the transition from being political activists, with axes to grind, to being members of a team. Team work, not only at the Cabinet level, but all across the broad spectrum of appointees is going to be essential to this Administration's success. Unfortunately, a single negative comment by any of us will always be given much more press and media coverage than the many positive statements which are made on any given day.

I am not suggesting a "gag" rule, for independence should be maintained, but the interdependence of your overall policies and initiatives must be stressed and articulated. Those individuals who cannot support the Administration's initiatives and contribute to the <u>Team Spirit</u> which we are trying to develop, should, quite frankly, resign.

B. Political Coordination

 One of the most effective methods of building public support for the Administration's legislative initiatives has evolved from the use of the Task Force concept.

The dramatic turn around on the Panama Canal Treaty, involving both high profile leaders and our phone bank operations to engender grassroots support, demonstrated the effectiveness of this vehicle.

Similar task forces for Tax, Civil Service, Urban Policy and Government Reorganization reforms are in various stages of development. They should be encouraged and strongly implemented.

In addition, we have available a number of highly intelligent experienced, and loyal Democrats in Washington whose expertise could be useful in implementing White House decisions. This group could be called together informally "as requested" to meet with your Senior Staff. Their goodwill, support, and ideas could add immeasurably to the promotion of your initiatives.

C. Political Support

In addition to the current Congressional Speakers Bureau in Frank Moore's office, I would suggest that an Affirmative Speaking Unit be organized for your legislative initiatives.

- 1. Cabinet, sub-cabinet, agency heads, regional officials, White House staff, DNC officials -- all submit on a periodic basis their speaking schedules and so forth to this coordinating body.
- -- that these speakers be provided with appropriate boiler plate administration support speech language.
- -- that speaking events before key groups and prestigious audiences be sought; officials plugged in, speeches made.
- -- that affirmative event speaking be tied to political support strategy, including key constituencies and geographic criteria.
- -- that appropriate media appearances be scheduled in conjunction with speeches or meetings.
- -- that a scheduling staff be utilized to coordinate this program.

Page Seven

-- that Administration speakers provide a memo after the event, noting political and other problems, comments, etc.

To make this program work, it should be part of an overall, generalized support building strategy. It should receive their cooperation at all levels. Assistance in doing this job is readily available around town. The goal is to systematically spread the message of the Administration.

Conclusion

We have a positive story to tell that is not being told. The failure to fully convey this message by each and every member of your Administration at every appropriate opportunity is beginning to reflect itself in the public perception and in the polls. It affects our relations with Congress, and with our constituents.

Your leadership in taking on the tough issues and your dedication to doing what is right for the American people is a constant source of inspiration and a challenge to most of us; but those of us who work with you and for you must simply do a better job of conveying your programs and accomplishments to the American public.

JCW:dsl



DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

John C. White Chairman

Ham Ham

MEMORANDUM

TO:

The President

FROM:

John C. White

RE:

The Democratic National Committee's Status Report

DATE:

April 14, 1978

During my initial 60 days as Chairman I established the following basic goals:

- 1. An analysis of the Committee's essential functions for 1978, i.e. legislative support, elections, the Mid-Term Conference, and Finance.
- 2. A restructuring of the Committee's personnel, fiscal control and operational capability in order to achieve these essential functions.
- Monitoring the political pulse of our constituent groups; and
- 4. A long range analysis of our political and financial condition, projecting and targeting toward the 1980 election.

1978 PRIORITIES

- 1. The four essential functions that the Committee must perform in 1978 are as follows:
 - A. Executive support service on pending legislation.
 - B. Support services for Democratic candidates especially in Congressional and Gubernatorial races.
 - C. The planning and execution of a constructive Mid-Term Conference.
 - D. Raising enough money to provide adequate financing for these priority functions for our immediate and future activities.

Page Two

- 2. It is obvious that the Committee is making expenditures in many desirable, but nonessential areas. Expenditures and personnel commitments for outreach, special interest, and constituent group servicing are penalizing our essential functions in 1978.
- I strongly recommend that we trim the Committee to a bare bones operation, focusing on the four priority functions as outlined below.

Spree

COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

- 1. At the outset the Committee was unwieldy both as to size and financial control. Expenditures totaled \$696,066 in January, were cut to \$415,899 in February and are projected to be \$352,000 in March. The monthly payroll has been cut from \$125,000 to 90,000, with further reductions planned.
- I know that you are aware that the recent Rulings of White House Counsel have required that the Committee assume political responsibility on behalf of the Executive Branch which are unparalleled in history. Since the White House staff can no longer carry on its traditional role in campaigns and lobbying efforts, the Task Forces which we have formed, and the ones which are being contemplated, to assist in both legislative and campaign support are imperative but will continue to tax both our personnel and our fiscal resources.

We are recruiting volunteer experts wherever possible, but the inherent costs of communication by both mail and telephone are increasing daily.

3. Our staff reduction and reorganization is being geared for service to the White House, to the Mid-Term Conference and to candidates; we are demanding more work and more performance. We can reduce the number of employees to 50 and our basic monthly operating costs to \$350,000.

We must evaluate each proposal for Committee activity, i.e. polling, targeting, outreach etc, on a cost per project basis under priorities established by you.

POLITICAL PULSE

- We have devoted a great deal of our time to meeting with and responding to constituent groups from across the country including Governors, Senators, Congressmen, State Chairmen, party officers, and basic Carter political and financial support groups.
- 2. While recent polls have indicated that the general public's perception of the Administration is slipping, we have found the situation among the groups mentioned above even more critical.
 - A. We have detected widespread criticism from previously supportive individuals and groups who are upset by a seeming lack of concern by Administration officials and their staffs for the basic etiquette of politics.
 - B. These are not contributors and supporters who expect government's preferential treatment, but do expect to be treated without discrimination because they are supporters and contributors. They do want the privilege of communicating. They anticipated being treated courteously and were not prepared to be treated with indifference, especially from this Democratic Administration.
 - C. As you have pointed out repeatedly at Cabinet meetings, many departments and Agencies have ignored our traditional Democratic supporters. Many Regional and State Directors, counsels, and other appointive positions, including many in Washington, are Republican holdovers, free agents, or transplanted bureaucrats with little or no understanding of the local and state party machinery or loyalty to this Administration. You have been made aware of continuing Congressional complaints in this regard; they are not exaggerated in general.
- 3. We had a meeting scheduled with Cabinet officers at the Vice President's home on the evening of April 10, to establish a stronger liaison between these Departments and Agencies and the Committee. This meeting was postponed in view of your Camp David Cabinet level meeting. In the coming months it will become increasingly important that a sensitivity to these constituent groups be evident. With your support, the Committee can be the best vehicle to assist in the building stronger bridges, and overcoming past mistakes.

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

- 1. In spite of the severe budgetary cuts outlined above we are experiencing a crucial cash flow shortage.
 - A. The examination of income sources for the last 18 months would indicate a heavy reliance on big donors and Presidential dinners. The maximum gross for direct mail came primarily from the Jewish Community, but costs were high and net proceeds were nominal.
- 2. With a new National Finance Council Chairman and a new Treasurer we must revitalize the fund raising efforts which became dormant over the last few months.
 - A. Our direct mail program, which must ultimately become the source of our sustaining funds, must become more aggressive with a more comprehensive "follow-up" system on pledges.
 - B. The Presidential dinners in Texas and California in June, and in Washington and New York in the fall should generate revenues for effective support services in the fall campaign.
 - C. To keep the doors open we are going to have to rely on our series of small Presidential and Vice Presidential events for major and intermediate contributors.
 - D. A series of small events around the country involving a commitment of your Senior Staff and Cabinet Members would be most helpful.
- 3. In short, the long range financial program appears promising; the short term is critical.

In conclusion, the toughest part of our transition is behind us, our relations with your Senior Staff are now good and growing stronger, and your confidence in me makes this impossible job possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Meeting with

The National Coalition of Cuban-Americans

Friday, April 21

3:00 p.m.

(5 minutes)

(by: Bob Pastor

Rose Garden

Tim Kraft)

I. PURPOSE:

Courtesy call -- photo opportunity

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS:

A. Background:

Juan Rodriguez, President of the Board (works in Father Baroni's office at H.U.D.) would like to see these members rewarded for their loyalty to the Carter Administration. This group has supported your policy towards Cuba. They are in town for the opening of their Washington office and this would provide you with an opportunity to restate your concern with human rights in Cuba and your belief that dialogue is the best way to pursue that objective.

This would also provide you with an opportunity to make a clear statement about terrorism in the U.S. and elsewhere, and your determination to take steps to enforce the law. (Many of the Board members have been threatened by extremists and terrorists for their defense of your policy of normalizing relations with Cuba.)

B. Participants:

The President

Board Members (see attached list)

C. Press:

Photo opportunity - W.H. photo

D. Talking Points:

Thank for their strong support of your

policies.

Members of the National Coalition of Cuban-Americans:

Maria Bechily-Beron

Ramiro Boza

Manuel Diaz

Alfredo Duran

Teresita Gonzales

Andres Hernandez

Josesina Hernandez

Alfredo Marrero

Roberto Menendez

Javier Miyares

Jack Otero

Tony Perez

Jose Pintado

Carlos Portes

Manolo Rebozo

Diana Rodriguez

Juan Rodriguez

Enrique Rueda



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 21, 1978

Hugh Carter

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Zbig Brzezinski

RE: HIGH FREQUENCY RADIOS FOR HMX-1 HELICOPTERS

DECLASSIFIED
Per; Rac Project

ESDN; NLC- 126-12-1/-/-5

M K 3 NARA DATE 4/16/13

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

The NSC has no comment.

Rick (wds)

DECLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE Per; Rac Project

WASHINGTON

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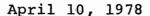
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON





CONFIDENTIAL '

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HUGH CARTER

MARTY BEAMAN

SUBJECT: High Frequency Radios for HMX-1 Helicopters

We recently reviewed with the cooperation and assistance of the White House Communications Agency, Marine Helicopter Squadron One (HMX-1), and Brigadier General A.W. Atkinson of the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the advantages and disadvantages of installing a secure voice radio system in the Presidential helicopters.

Presently, the primary means of direct communications between Marine One and the National Emergency Airborne Command Post (NEACP) is UHF radio, but UHF range is limited. Alternate means of communications presently available must rely on ground communications. HF radio provides long-haul communication capability (world-wide range) without reliance on ground systems. HF capability would, therefore, provide for an effective rendezvous between NEACP and Marine One and provide continuous connectivity for the National Command Authority.

The Naval Air Systems Command has determined that installation of secure HF radios in the VH-3D helicopters is feasible and would cost approximately \$962,000. The program would require extensive testing in order to assure compatibility, and program duration would be a minimum of 18 months. The secure voice portion of the system has not been approved for Presidential use, however, it would provide privacy and be beneficial for pilot communications in emergency situations.

It is our recommendation that a secure radio HF system be installed on the VH-3D helicopters.

	Per; Rac Project
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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 21, 1978

Stu Eizenstat
Tim Kraft
The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Fran Voorde

DINNER - PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS INITIATIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

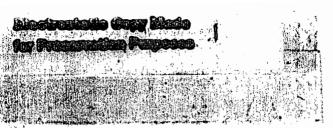
Thursday, May 11, would be open for such an event.

TK

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT:

WHITE HOUSE EVENT TO BEGIN THE PRIVATE

SECTOR JOBS INITIATIVE

It would be appropriate to have a White House event to inaugurate our \$400 million Private Sector Initiative. It is crucial to the partnership we are attempting to forge between business and government in employment and training that the event demonstrate the seriousness of our commitment and be a success. It would also be a first opportunity to provide specific content to the "new partnership."

We have tentatively scheduled the event for May 11.

The event will bring together the very top leadership of corporate America with leaders of small business, minority business, unions, community-based organizations, governors, mayors, county executives and Congressional committees.

It will dramatize our determination to make the training and private sector placement side of the CETA system work and to follow through on our urban policy.

If we are to make progress against the desperately high rates of unemployment faced by minority workers, especially minority youth at a time when budget constraints and fear of inflation will slow the overall reduction of unemployment, we must make dramatic progress in improving the effectiveness of our training programs. Aggressive private sector cooperation is the key to success in training and placement.

In order to demonstrate the seriousness of our commitment and to assure success, I recommend that the White House event include a working dinner in the executive mansion. This memorandum is to request your approval for such a dinner.

In considering this matter, you should be aware of the following points:

- o When LBJ launched the National Alliance of Businessmen in 1968 he held a series of five White House dinners of 100 invitees each for the Chief Executive Officers of the Fortune 500 corporations;
- o Most leaders of American business have been invited to the White House in the course of the winter to be briefed on economic policy and the tax package. In addition, they are being invited to a meeting on inflation policy April 20. Another invitation for a daylight briefing will not provide sufficient emphasis, and may fail to draw the very top in business leadership;
- o Unlike most White House events, we will not be announcing what we are doing for a special group, but rather asking them to undertake a major effort in partnership with government - to deal with a common problem;
- o The seriousness with which the White House takes this event is a crucial signal not only to business communities all across the nation who we are asking to organize and participate, but also to those who direct and work in the 450 CETA system prime sponsorships who are somewhat skittish about close collaboration with the business communities.
- o The press impact of a briefing followed by a dinner will be much greater than a more modest event.

Secretaries Marshall and Kreps agree with this recommendation.

Key leaders of the business community, including Reuben Mettler, the new NAB Board Chairman, strongly recommend that a dinner be held on the grounds that it will help enormously in gaining support from business leaders.

If a dinner is not possible, a fallback position would be to have a sitdown lunch which you would share with the invited quests.

DECISION	
	A briefing and Presidential statement followed by a dinner (DPS, Marshall, Kreps, Mettler recommend)
	A briefing and statement followed by a lunch
	A briefing and statement only

WASHINGTON

DATE:

17 APR 78

FOR ACTION

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

HAMILTON JORDAN

JODY POWELL

JACK WATSON

CHARLIE SCHULTZE

FRAN VOORDE

SUBJECT:

EIZENSTAT MEMO RE WHITE HOUSE EVENT TO BEGIN THE PRIVATE

SECTOR JOBS INITIATIVE

+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +

HS Leen sen L

1200 PM WEDNESDAY 19 APR 78

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:





April 20, 1978

MEETING WITH MEMBERS-HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS

Friday, April 21, 1978 9 a.m. (30 minutes) The Cabinet Room

Frank Moore J.M/P From:

I. PURPOSE

To discuss consideration of the tax bill before the Ways and Means Committee with Rep. Ab Mikva (D-10-Ill), Rep. Jim Corman (D-21-Calif), Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-7-Fla), Rep. Bill Brodhead (D-17-Mich), Rep. Pete Stark (D-9-Calif), and Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-3-Mo).

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

Background: Attached is the Committee membership profile provided for your meeting with Ullman/Rostenkowski/Waggonner yesterday. The 6 members you are meeting on Friday are our strongest supporters of reform.

- Corman-Stu has been working with Corman and Ullman to work out a scaled-down version of the welfare bill. Corman appears to be more pleased that we are trying to work toward an interim situation.
- Gibbons--Has been talking as though he could support a package that approximates the compromise that Joe Waggonner was talking about yesterday morning.
- Gephardt--The best weathervane for the freshman and sophomore classes. He, like Mikva, is dedicated to working out a social security tax rate roll back.
- Brodhead--After your phone call to Brodhead, he told Bill Cable and Frank Moore that he felt that the congressional liaison operation should spend more time visiting members' offices and their staffs to get a feel for the political climate that each member must respond to.

Mikva--Faces a tough reelection bid in a district he is viewed as being to liberal. Mikva indicates that he feels it is time that we look for some fallback positions in order to salvage as much reform as possible.

Stark--The biggest fear with Stark is that we agree to a compromise that is overly generous to business. If the Steiger capital gains provision is adopted, Stark will almost certainly join with Vanik; and if Vanik is unsuccessful, Stark will probably vote against any tax bill.

<u>Participants</u>: The President, Secretary Blumenthal, Reps. Mikva, Corman, Gibbons, Brodhead, Stark and Gephardt, Frank Moore, and Bill Cable.

Press Plan: Open Press Coverage/White House Photographer.

III. TALKING POINTS

**The format should be similar to your meeting yesterday in that you ask the group for their assessment of the current situation and for their suggestions on how we accomplish our mutual goal of reform and a cut in the range of \$25 billion.

MEMBERS-HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS

The Committee can generally be broken down into several groups. The Republicans have voted as a block and oppose most all significant tax reforms.

Committee Republicans are:

Barber Conable (R-35-NY)

John Duncan (R-2-Tenn)

Bill Archer (R-7-Texas)

Guy Vander Jagt (R-9-Mich)

Bill Steiger (R-6-Wis)

Phil Crane (R-12-Ill)

Bill Frenzel (R-3-Minn)

Jim Martin (R-9-N.C.)

Skip Bafalis (R-10-Fla)

Bill Ketchum (R-18-Calif)

Richard Shulze (R-5-Pa)

Bill Gradison (R-1-Ohio)

Of particular interest in this group are:

Conable--Willing to be helpful but wants to give back to middle income those who get hurt by reforms.

Only brings one vote with him.

Steiger &

Frenzel--Young, bright and very political. Both talk a better game than have ever voted. They will try to trade for their vote, but rarely can they be given enough.

There are three oil state Democrats who are opposed and are lead by Joe Waggonner, Omar Burleson, and Jake Pickle. The three others who have consistantly voted against reform are:

Jim Burke (D-11-Mass)--He wants a commitment on

\$5 to \$7 billion Social Security tax rate roll back and won't budge without the deal.

- Otis Pike (D-1-N.Y.)--He is retiring and claims he is worrying about the \$100,000 plus taxpayers. Seems unmoveable.
- Bill Cotter (D-1-Conn)--He is angry at our appointment of a federal judge in Hartford that "embarrassed" him among the Democrats at home. Treasury and CL have made efforts to smooth things out without success.

- The balance of the Committee breaks down as follows:
- Dan Rostenkowski (D-8-Ill) -- A supporter of most reforms but not DISC, differal or travel and entertainment.
- Charlie Vanik (D-22-Ohio) -- Wants to help on reforms but feels strongly for inflation reasons we should not make big cuts.
- Jim Corman (D-21-Calif) -- Helps consistantly and should stay with us.
- Sam Gibbons (D-7-Fla)--Generally supportive but is being swayed by the arguments to ease the impact on those the reforms hurt--the \$20,000 to \$40,000 folks.
- Charlie Rangel (D-19-N.Y.) -- Supportive of many reforms but expresses concerns for loss of jobs due to travel and entertainment reforms.
- Pete Stark (D-9-Calif) -- Down the line with us but if not successful with sufficient reforms could go with Vanik to shelve most tax cuts, especially business.
- Jim Jones (D-1-0kla)--With us about 1/2 the time.

 Pressured by Waggonner and oil interests.
- Andy Jacobs (D-11-Ind)--Wants no cuts--only balancing the budget. Inflation has him worried but supports some reforms.
- Ab Mikva (D-10-I11) -- A supporter of reforms but under pressure of a tough election.
- Martha Keys (D-2-Kansas) -- Strong influence by Jacobs.

 Could be convinced to vote against the bill.

 Supported move to gut the medical/casualty
 reform with 10% floor without a National
 Health Plan in place.
- Joe Fisher (D-10-Va)--Generally supportive but under substantial middle income pressure. Lead move to allow charitable contributions to be deducted on top of standard deduction.

- Harold Ford (D-8-Tenn)--Generally supportive but strong labor influence. Labor is not helping all out on these issues.
- Ken Holland (D-5-S.C.) -- Key swing vote. Swayed by
 Waggonner and oil interests. Bit textile
 pressures too.
- Bill Brodhead (D-17-Mich) -- Strong supporter. Freshman.
- Ed Jenkins (D-9-Ga)--Not too supportive. Can be swing vote on many issues.
- Dick Gephardt (D-3-Mo)--Supporter and thoughtful. Wants Social Security tax rate roll back.
- Jim Guy Tucker (D-2-Ark)--Running for Senate. Gives proxy to Chairman Ullman.
- Ray Lederer (D-3-Pa)--Philadelphia member. Frankfort
 Arsenal still an issue. Generally supportive
 but can be problem without labor pressure.

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 21, 1978

Stu Eizenstat Bob Lipshutz

> The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

> > Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

RE: EO - President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 17, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT LIPSHUTZ

RE:

Executive Order Entitled:

"President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies"

Last year the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe recommended creation of an advisory committee to promote and improve foreign language and area studies in the United States. On June 2, 1977 you wrote Congressman Fascell that you considered establishment of a short-term commission to be appropriate.

The attached proposed Order, prepared in HEW and revised at OMB, would establish a 25-member Commission with a life span of six months which would:

- 1) make recommendations on means for directing public attention to the importance of foreign language and international studies,
- 2) assess the need in the United States for specialists in these areas and the job market for individuals with these skills,
- 3) recommend what foreign language area studies programs are appropriate at all academic levels and the kinds of support for each that should be provided by the public and private sectors, and
- 4) review existing legislative authorities and make recommendations for changes.

We recommend that you sign the attached Order.

✓ Approve		Disapp	rove

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. <u>Establishment</u>. (a) There is hereby established the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, hereinafter referred to as the Commission.

- (b) The Commission shall consist of not more than twenty-five members to be appointed by the President, one of whom shall be designated by the President to chair the Commission.
- Sec. 2. <u>Functions</u>. (a) The Commission shall conduct such public hearings, inquiries, and studies as may be necessary to make recommendations to the President and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in accordance with the objectives of the Commission outlined in subsection (b) of this Section.
 - (b) The objectives of the Commission shall be to:
- (1) Recommend means for directing public attention to the importance of foreign language and international studies for the improvement of communications and understanding with other nations in an increasingly interdependent world;
- (2) Assess the need in the United States for foreign language and area specialists, ways in which foreign language and international studies contribute to meeting these needs, and the job market for individuals with these skills.

- (3) Recommend what foreign language area studies programs are appropriate at all academic levels and recommend desirable levels and kinds of support for each that should be provided by the public and private sectors.
- (4) Review existing legislative authorities and make recommendations for changes needed to carry out most effectively the Commission's recommendations.
- Sec. 3. Administration. (a) To the extent authorized by law:
- (1) All necessary expenses incurred in connection with the work of the Commission shall be paid from funds available to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (2) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may provide, or otherwise obtain, appropriate professional, technical, clerical and administrative personnel as may be necessary to enable the Commission to perform its functions.
- (3) Executive agencies shall assist or otherwise cooperate with the Commission in the performance of its functions.
- (4) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise employed in the Government may receive compensation at the rate of \$100.00 per day for each day such member is engaged in the work of the Commission, and may also receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence (5 U.S.C. 5702 and 5703).
- (b) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), except that of reporting annually to the Congress, which are applicable to the Commission, shall be performed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in accordance with guidelines and procedures prescribed by the Administrator of General Services.

Sec. 4. Termination and Final Report. The Commission shall submit its final report to the President not later than six months after its first meeting and shall terminate thirty days thereafter.

Immy Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE,



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 20, 1978

MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM "KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL"

Friday, April 21, 1978 11:55 a.m. (5 minutes) The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore

I. PURPOSE

To promote National Keep America Beautiful Day, which is April 22, 1978. This meeting is at the request of Rep. Steve Neal (D-5-N.C.).

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS PLAN

Background: Keep America Beautiful Inc. is a non-profit public service organization headquartered in New York City. The various campaigns and educational programs which KAB sponsors will involve more than 30 million participants in 1978.

The KAB advertising campaign, which features Iron Eyes Cody, has won two Cleo Awards nationally, emblematic of its designation as the outstanding public service advertising campaign in America.

KAB's advertising program falls under the umbrella of The Advertising Council of New York. Some of the major campaigns of the Ad Council include:

Forest Fire Prevention-----"Smokey The Bear"
Energy Conservation-----"Don't Be Fuelish"
United Negro College Fund----"A Mind Is A Terrible
Thing To Waste"
Aid to Higher Education-----"Give To The College
of Your Choice"

In celebration of its 25th Anniversary Year, KAB will launch a new goal of reaching every school child in America with its message of the need to intensify our efforts to clean up our country. To launch the new campaign, KAB has chosen Mr. Robert Timberlake of North Carolina to paint one painting which will symbolize the Beauty of America. (Miss Lillian has a Timberlake print in her home, entitled "My Cider Barrel").

Participants: See attached list.

Press Plan: White House Photographer/Regular Press Coverage.

III. TALKING POINTS

- **It is an honor to meet with Congressman Steve Neal, Mr. Roger Powers, President of Keep America Beautiful, Inc. the artist Bob Timberlake, and Iron Eyes Cody to recognize that tomorrow, April 22, is Keep America Beautiful Day.
- **This is the 25th Anniversary of Keep America Beautiful, and we salute the 30 million Americans all over the country who are working to clean up and improve their communities. That KAB has been in business for so long, with such success, is a testiment to what private initiative can accomplish. The answers to the litter problem can be found only if individuals and community organizations work with the federal government to educate and to participate in cleaning up our country. The responsibility falls to each of us individually to follow the example which Iron Eyes Cody has set for us, to give of our own time and skills to make our communities better places to live.
- **Keep America Beautiful has an ambitious new goal of making every school child in this country aware of its programs. It is exciting that Bob Timberlake, an artist from North Carolina, will kick off this campaign by painting a picture which will symbolize the "Beauty of America". Each school child will be given the opportunity to create his or her version of the "Beauty of America". These paintings and drawings will then enter local, state, and national competition, and some of the winners will be awarded college scholarships by Keep America Beautiful. This is an excellent program which I support, and I hope Amy will get going on her painting right away.
- **The federal government will continue to complement the voluntary efforts of Keep America Beautiful through the work of a cabinet level interagency committee on Resource Conservation.

 Working together, we can solve a problem which costs our communities enormous sums of money and which is a blot on our national pride. I encourage all Americans to participate in Keep America Beautiful Day.

Participants April 21, 1978

Mr. and Mrs. Armand Hammer--President, Oxidental Petroleum Owner-Hammer Galleries, primary exhibitor of Timberlake paintings.

Frank Moore Bill Cable THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Meeting with
Sidney Scheuer & Russell Hemenway
Friday, April 21
(15 minutes)
The Oval Office

(by: Fran Voorting

I. PURPOSE:

Administration's position vis-a-vis public perception and the '78 elections.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN:

A. Background:

Mr. Scheuer is Chairman of the National Committee for an Effective Congress; Hemenway is National Director. NCEC supports progressive, liberal candidates for Congress.

Mr. Scheuer is a longtime supporter of yours. He is concerned about some of the negative press you are getting and wants to share some suggestions with you.

(Though not related to the meeting, you should know that Scheuer has very strong connections with Russian trade - he built the first textile mill in Russia and still maintains an office in Moscow.)

- B. Participants: Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Hemenway and the President.
- C. Press Coverage: White House Photographer.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
April 21, 1978

Fran Voorde
The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Tim Kraft

RE: REGRETS - NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FARM CREDIT DIRECTORS

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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FOR STAFFING

BOURNE
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H. CARTER
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FARM CREDIT BANKS OF COLUMBIA

BOX 1499, COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29202

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.



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FARM CREDIT BANKS OF COLUMBIA

COLUMBIA BANK FOR COOPERATIVES
THE FEDERAL LAND BANK OF COLUMBIA
FEDERAL INTERMEDIATE CREDIT BANK OF COLUMBIA
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29202

April 17, 1978



The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The Farm Credit Banks of Columbia are the host banks this year for the National Conference of Farm Credit Directors, and we have chosen your home state of Georgia for this occasion.

On behalf of the outstanding farm citizens who are directors of the thirty-seven Farm Credit Banks in the nation, we wish to invite you to address our National Farm Credit Directors Conference to be held at the Atlanta Hilton Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia on October 22-26, 1978.

It is our desire to have you speak on any subject of your choice for whatever length of time you deem appropriate. Our preference would be to have you speak to the conferees at this great convention on Monday, October 23, around 3:15 p.m. However, we would adjust to your schedule to have your address anytime during our conference. We extend a cordial invitation to Mrs. Carter to accompany you since there will be wives of our directors from all over the nation in attendance.

As you know, the Production Credit Associations, the Federal Land Bank Associations, and Banks for Cooperatives extend a complete credit service to farmers and serve more than 841,000 farm families in the United States with more than \$40 billion in loans. Our directors are outstanding representatives of all phases of agriculture and industry in the United States, and we are sure you would find one of the most appreciative audiences you have ever addressed. We feel that you have a close affinity with these national agricultural leaders and the objectives of our great organizations.

We will be pleased to furnish your staff additional information concerning our people, our organizations, and the purposes of the meeting. We would be honored to have you join us. Your presence will be a credit to the State of Georgia, the South, and the Farm Credit System. Please accept, if possible.

Respectfully yours,

W. W. Gaston

Chairman, Board of Directors

WWG:aw

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HAMILTON JORDAN 745

SUBJECT:

RICHARD HATCHER - 2:00 PM, APRIL 21, 1978

Talking points for your meeting with Dick Hatcher:

- -- that you would like for him to join your senior staff;
- --that his duties and specific responsibilities can be evolved, but the more obvious things you need him to do for you include political liaison with the Black political community, provide input into policy and program decisions, public advocate for the Administration's programs. In this regard, you should mention how little credit we have gotten for the things we have done to help Blacks.
- --that you would like for him to work closely with Jack Watson on selling our urban policy and also on its successful implementation
- -- that he will have access to you
- --that you will expect him to fight hard for what he believes, but that once a decision is made you will expect him to support it and be loyal -- Hatcher is tough and strong-willed and we don't want him to feel that to maintain his credibility he can be publicly questioning and critizing your decisions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH RUSSELL GIFFEN Friday, April 21, 1978 1:30 p.m. (10 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Stu Eizenstat

Kathy Fletcher C

I. PURPOSE

To discuss Mr. Giffen's concerns about the 1902 Reclamation Act and regulations.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

Background: Russell Giffen was largely responsible for pioneering the development of irrigated agriculture in the Westlands area of the Central Valley of California. At one time he operated a 120,000-acre farm in the 600,000-acre Westlands District, a Bureau of Reclamation project area. He was also President of the Westlands Water District. He disposed of his land holdings prior to the lawsuit requiring the Bureau of Reclamation to promulgate rules and regulations governing the disposal of excess lands. The sales of the Giffen tract and one other large tract formed the factual basis for the successful lawsuit brought against the Bureau to require excess lands requlations. As you know, the Westlands area has also been the subject of extensive study by the Interior Department.

Mr. Giffen originally requested a meeting with you when the Interior Department proposed its 160acre regulations last summer. He was very critical of the proposed regulations.

- Participants: В. In addition to Mr. Giffen, Cong. B.F. Sisk, Kendall Mannock (Giffen's attorney), & Jack Wolfe (Chief of Operations).
- C. Press Plan: White House photo only.

III. TALKING POINTS

- In the months since Mr. Giffen originally requested a meeting, the Administration has developed a detailed proposal for modernizing the 1902 Reclamation Law. The Interior Department has also agreed to prepare a detailed environmental impact statement on its regulations.
- The Administration's position:
 - -- doubles an individual's ownership allotment from 160 to 320 acres, although it excludes minor children;
 - -- allows leasing to bring an individual's total of owned and leased acreage to 480 acres;
 - -- allows family partnerships and partnerships between two unrelated persons;
 - -- establishes an overall operation size cap of 960 acres, to assure that owner-operated, family-size operations are encouraged;
 - -- requires owners and lessees to live within 50 miles of their farm and to be personally involved in the farming operation;
 - -- allows priority in sales of excess lands to family members, neighbors and long-time tenants and employees, and establishes a lottery system for the remainder of the excess lands; and
 - -- would "grandfather" non-corporate operations which meet existing requirements, and would apply new provisions, including residency, only on new transactions.
- This proposal meets many of the original criticisms proffered by Mr. Giffen and others (the need for leasing, partnerships and ability to sell land other than by lottery). But it also tries to strike a fair balance, considering the amount of subsidy provided and the need to distribute the benefits of these projects as widely as possible.

• Mr. Giffen may also raise the question of exempting the Imperial Valley and other areas from acreage limitations. (In the Imperial Valley the Interior Department years ago took the official position that the acreage limits did not apply, although in the 1960's the Interior Department determined that the original position was in error. Recent lower court rulings have determined that the limits do apply.) The Administration has not at this time supported any exemption proposals, but has said that no action will be taken to enforce the limits in the Imperial Valley until the issue is decided in court.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON April 20, 1978

2

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE

SUBJECT:

Treasury's Background Memo for Meeting with Democratic Members of Ways and Means Committee, Friday, April 21 at 9:00 a.m.

At 7:00 p.m., Thursday evening, we received the attached memorandum from Treasury. It goes into considerable detail on each Democratic Member of Ways and Means, as well as providing a scorecard on how individuals have been voting in mark-up.

In the event you do not have time to read the entire memo, I suggest that Section A will give you a good overview of the status of things in Ways and Means.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

April 20, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Frank Moore

Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison

FROM:

Gene E. Godley

Assistant Secretary (Legislative Affairs)

SUBJECT:

Democratic Members of Ways and Means Committee

Attached is a briefing memorandum for the President regarding the Democratic Members of the Ways and Means Committee and their tax reform records.

The memorandum is broken into:

Section A - general outline of the Member's general inclinations in regard to tax issues and and comments regarding votes this week in the markup sessions.

Section B - a tally of the Committee votes this week.

Section C - descriptive material on each Member's district, history and elections.

Attachment

Supporters of Tax Reform*(13)

William Brodhead (Mich.-17); a second term working liberal, originally came to Congress on crest of anti-Vietnam sentiment; district is Democratic, heavily automobile, organized labor (UAW, AFL-CIO local and national) supplied approximately 73% of reported campaign financing in 1976; has been very supportive of the reform effort thus far but has expressed to us some dismay at the way things seem to be going.

James C. Corman (Calif.-21); ninth term, a committed tax reformer as evidenced by numerous debates with Wilbur Mills, served on National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders and is an acknowledged expert in the area of public assistance; district is now relatively safe, consists in part of central Jewish and black enclaves; he is Chairman of Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and therefore could have clout with other members; he is reported to be quite disturbed at present by Administration handling of welfare reform bill; Corman has been generally supportive thus far, has attempted to save and defend some of our proposals but has stated his feeling that the whole exercise is for naught. Has also stated he will vote against the bill at the end.

Joseph L. Fisher (Va.-10); second term, service on the Committee has shown him to be a reflective and consistent tax reformer; district is probably best described as moderate, it is 100% suburban, 95% white with very heavy federal employment, Fisher's vote margins have been comfortable but not overwhelming; approximately 53% of his 1976 campaign contributions came from organized labor (AFL-CIO COPE, UAW, Steelworkers, etc.) and another 12% from DSG Campaign Fund plus National Committee for Effective Congress. Despite his reform orientation Mr. Fisher has sponsored thus far in the markup a proposal to give a charitable deduction to taxpayers using the standard deduction, this is considered an egregious matter of tax policy and could cost upwards of \$3 billion. United Way, a major proponent of this concept, is headquartered in his district.

^{*}The term "tax reform" is defined to mean narrowing or elimination of existing preferences or exclusions and general resistance to creating new ones.

Harold Ford (Tenn.-8); one of Committee's two black members, in second terms, one of few C.D.'s where Carter's raw vote and vote percentage exceeded the Congressional candidate's; district is within Memphis and is almost one-half black; prior action on the Committee has shown him as a moderate reformer who often follows Ullman's lead; approximately 56% of his 1976 campaign contributions came from organized labor (UAW, AFL-CIO COPE, ASFME, etc.). He rarely announces prior votes but simply follows the lead of others.

Richard Gephardt (Mo.-3); freshman, won with 64% of vote, district is in St. Louis and suburbs and is 92% white; service on Committee has shown this attorney to be careful, thoughtful and reform/liberal in orientation; he has been an aggressive spokesman for junior House Democrats demanding a modification of last year's social security tax increases; approximately 36% of his campaign financing came from organized labor (AFL-CIO National, UAW, CWA COPE, etc.); thus far, he has been a stalwart supporter of the Administration.

Sam Gibbons (Fla.-7); 8th term of service, district dominated by Tampa with large Cuban-American presence; early supporter of civil rights and an avowed tax reformer who often confronted Mills; he has indicated to us he is endeavoring to establish a liberal working group for our bill and that some flexibility will be in order; 1976 reported campaign contributions were negligible; this "reformer" has been a basic supporter thus far but has logrolled on some issues.

Andy Jacobs (Ind.-11); district is conservative and Republican, Jacobs is basically a liberal with a substantial strain of oft-times aggressively asserted fiscal conservatism, now in second term after eight years of service was interrupted by defeat in 1972; 1976 campaign contributions were basically negligible but over 50% came from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. He has been a basic supporter thus far but might well end up voting against any tax cut because of concerns about the deficit.

Martha Keys (Kans.-2); second term, district contains Topeka, generally conservative area; Ms. Keys is a moderate liberal and past activity on Committee has shown her to be a tax reformer; approximately 53% of her 1976 campaign financing came from organized labor (UAW, United Rubber Workers COPE, AFL-CIO National, etc.); Ms. Keys has been a supporter thus far but has expressed some concern about the present course of events on the Committee.

Raymond Lederer (Penn.-3); freshman, district is center city Philadelphia containing black and white ethnic enclaves, it is a Democratic seat; on the Committee Lederer has shown himself to be a pragmatic liberal, supportive of but not necessarily a crusader for reform and basically a loyal Democratic party member willing to help President where he can; 1976 reported campaign contributions were not large but fully 66-2/3% came from organized labor (Longshoremen, Machinists, Hotel/Restaurant Employees, etc.); Lederer has attempted to stay with the Administration as much as possible thus far but has expressed some anxiety about engaging in what he feels may be an unproductive exercise.

Abner Mikva (Ill.-10); district is neither Republican nor Democratic, 100% suburban and contains Northwestern University (academic liberals) along with a large and affluent white Protestant population, seat must be considered marginal based upon past history; Mikva is vice-Chairman of ADA, Chairman of House Democratic Study Group and a highly respected and influential tax reform liberal, he is the spearhead for modification of the social security tax burdens probably in part because of reelection pressures, these pressures will work to very substantially reduce the profile he will adopt on tax reform and this is unfortunate from our standpoint; approximately 60% of his reported 1976 campaign funding came from organized labor (UAW, AFL-CIO National, Steelworkers, Hotel/Restaurant Employees, etc.); Mr. Mikva has thus far, as we anticipated, been a basic supporter of but no vocal champion of tax reform.

Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.-19); serving 4th term, district includes Harlem and part of liberal upper West Side, seat must be considered safe; service on the Committee has shown Rangel to be a reform minded liberal; he has a keen interest in the "urban program" and his clear interest in a youth jobs tax credit; approximately 65% of his reported 1976 campaign funds were supplied by organized labor (ILGWU, Teamsters, etc.); Rangel thus far has been a supporter but may "jump ship" on the business entertainment proposals.

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (Calif.-9); third term, district a very mixed bag, basically suburban, approximately 26% of the population is black or Spanish; Stark is a former Common Cause board member, strong Vietnam war opponent, has shown himself to be a strong tax reformer; 1976 reported campaign funds were moderate in amount but approximately 50% of it came from organized labor (Retail Clerks, Transportation Union, etc.); Stark is no fan of the investment tax credit and business tax cuts and can be expected to raise some difficulty on these issues.

Charles A. Vanik (Ohio-22); 12th term, district is basically suburban but includes a very small part of Cleveland and is on balance quite affluent, seat must be considered safe; Vanik is a liberal and consistent proponent of tax reform, he has, however, voiced doubts about reform this year; Vanik is aggressively pro-Israel (co-sponsor of Jackson-Vanik amendment denying MFN to Russia until free immigration of Jews is allowed); his reported campaign financing in 1976 was de minimis. Vanik has felt for months that a tax reform exercise could only mean disaster and has championed (aggressively) a simply tax cut, for which he claims 16 votes.

Opponents of "Tax Reform" (7)

Omar Burleson (Texas-17); 16th term, will not stand for reelection, has one of Congress' most conservative voting records and can be anticipated that he will oppose all "reform" items. Votes thus far confirm his solid opposition.

James A. Burke (Mass.-11); 10th term, district is evenly divided between urban and suburban with strong ethnic enclaves; has good ratings as a liberal, normally supportive of the Chairman, he is put in the middle category because of his adamancy on social security taxes and probably willingness to play some "hard ball" with us to make a breakthrough and because of statements made during the hearings in opposition to many of our reforms; 1976 campaign financing was quite small but 66-2/3% of it came from organized labor (ILGWU, etc.); Burke's action in the markup to date establishes beyond doubt that he will not support us unless and until (very probably) he obtains satisfaction on social security.

William Cotter (Conn.-1); 4th term, district contains Hartford and outlying suburbs, Hartford is attempting a major rehabilitation and its political leaders, including Cotter, can be expected to show a keen sensitivity to business' views (economic base consists of insurance companies, defense industry, airplane engines); the seat is reasonably solid but Cotter's vote percentage dropped in the 1976 presidential election year compared to 1974 and this may be interpreted as a sign of Carter weakness; Cotter has expressed great distress about some patronage affront or other and stated we should rely on his nonsupport on reforms; in the 1976 campaign, business (Connecticut Insurance PAC, United Technologies, etc.) and labor (Teamsters, UAW, AFL-CIO International, etc.) contributed virtually identical amounts of money. Cotter to date has been a consistent and vocal opponent of our reforms.

James R. Jones (Okla.-1); third term, district contains Tulsa and suburbs and is a conservative area with an increasingly Republican voting pattern; Jones is intelligent and articulate, his Committee record shows him to be a conservative on "reform" and this undoubtedly is an accurate reflection of his district, we can anticipate little support from him (and this is compounded by our position in opposition to a cigarette tax bill he is promoting). Jones can be relied upon for an occasional vote, but not consistently.

Jake Pickle (Texas-10); 8th term, district is LBJ's and there are substantial family interests located there, University of Texas is a large presence, seat must be considered safe; Pickle reflects the general conservatism of his area on reform issues but he is not doctrinaire and we may be able to gather his vote on at least certain issues, thus his listing here rather than in the "opponents" column; approximately 50% of campaign funds were business. Pickle wants a simple tax cut and would like to terminate the whole exercise even more than Vanik.

Otis G. Pike (N.Y.-1); 9th term, will not seek reelection, district is moderate-conservative with substantial defense industry presence; Pike is a liberal and a basic "reform" type but he is also an independent thinker and somewhat unorthodox, this coupled with his retirement makes him difficult to predict, he has also voiced doubt about the need this year for a tax cut or tinkering with the Code; FEC reported 1976 campaign financing was pretty evenly spread between business (Grumman, E.F. Hutton) at approximately 20%, health groups (Federation of American Hospitals, Oral Surgery PAC, American Medical PAC, American Dental PAC) at approximately 42% and labor (N.Y. State Teachers, American Federation of Teachers COPE) at approximately 33%. He has to date consistently opposed reform and has made clear his sympathy for the middle and upper income classes.

Joe D. Waggonner (La.-4); 9th term, will not seek reelection, conservative record, is an intelligent and straight forward supporter of business interests and can be anticipated to oppose all reform proposals. His actions in the markup to date establishes his preparedness to be an aggressive opponent.

"Middle Ground" Members (5)

Kenneth Holland (S.Car.-5); second term, district is heavily blue collar and dominated by textile interests, Carter outpolled Holland in 1976 but Holland's opponent was Bobby Richardson, former Yankee baseball star and a South Carolinian of substantial reknown; Holland is an attorney, has a strain of modern populism and says he

wants to help us as much as he can given the nature of his constituency; Holland has asked for campaign assistance, particularly fund raising, and this can be turned to advantage; 1976 campaign contributions from business were substantial, 32% of total, (S and L League, American Trucking Assn., Riegel Textile Corp., National Auto Dealers, etc.) and somewhat exceeded receipts from labor, approximately 25% of total (AFL-CIO COPE, ILGWU, Master Mates, etc.); Mr. Holland to date has been fairly supportive and this in part is a product of the time Secretary Blumenthal spent in his home state.

Edgar Jenkins (Ga.-9); first term, district of Phil Landrum, contains large amount of textile interests, conservative; Jenkins is in his first reelection campaign and does not want to get too far away from his constituents, he has stated his desire to help us and a Georgian President as much as he can but . . . , if Carter's Georgia prestige can calm Jenkins' political fears we have a vote; 1976 campaign funds were dominated by agricultural interests (Dairymen, Inc., Dairymen Inc., Ga., Associated Milk Producers, etc.) and business interests (American Family Corp., Realtors PAC, etc.), in the aggregate constituting 72% of FEC recorded contributions. Mr. Jenkins has in several different meetings indicated he cannot support reforms if they won't become law, that our reforms will not and therefore he cannot vote with us; the political risks are too great.

Dan Rostenkowski (III.-8); 10th term, district is middle income and is 100% central city Chicago; Rostenkowski is a very hardnosed ethnic Democrat who made his bones in the Daley organization, his seat must be considered secure; Rostenkowski is thoughtful and intelligent about reform issues and often is supportive, he is, however, a pragmatist, is not a crusader and can be expected to aggressively defend his turf in the health area; Rostenkowski is forceful and assertive, has some clout on the Committee and a method should be crafted to at least try to make him a Carter spear carrier on the bill; 1976 FEC reported campaign funds reports show that the largest source of funds, approximately 53%, came from business (National Auto Dealers Assn., American Family Corp., Insurance Assn. of Connecticut, American Bankers Assn., S and L League, E.F. Hutton, etc.). Mr. Rostenkowski has thus far been a loyal but very reluctant supporter.

Jim Guy Tucker (Ark.-2); freshman, Mills' old seat, includes Little Rock; Tucker is a liberal, supports civil rights and consumer issues and has shown himself on the Committee to be intelligent and very aggressive; he is running for the U.S. Senate, however, and because of the

special political problems that could present I have not placed him squarely in the tax reform column; according to FEC 1976 Campaign fund figures, approximately 70% of his contributions came from organized labor (AFL-CIO COPE, Steelworkers, United Paper Workers, etc.); thus far, he has for the most part been content to have his proxy with the Chairman but has opposed us when it seems to be in his best interest politically.

Chairman Al Ullman (Or.-2); 11th term, district contains 25% of state population, 73% of land area, lumber and timber interests are a large presence; Ullman at one time was regarded as flery liberal but has moderated and now proceeds cautiously, his instincts still lie in the area of reform; he leads the Committee by consensus and essentially we must work to build our own coalitions and prove the accuracy of our intelligence to gain his aggressive support, if convinced there is a chance of success he will fight for and defend the Administration, he is loyal to the Party; Ullman has at least two notions he is insisting we incorporate into our tax bill, the jobs tax credit (existing plus a targeted add-on) and partial integration as a step to ending double taxation; FEC campaign fund data for 1976 shows that approximately 70% of his funding came from business groups (U.S. Steel, Weyerhauser, Securities Industry Association, E.F. Hutton, etc.); the Chairman has been a solid "trooper" thus far but it is clear he is distressed and concerned about the course of events.

If it is assumed that in general the 12 Republicans will oppose our reforms, there are 16 votes philosophically arrayed against us. A majority on the Committee is 19 votes. Accordingly, as a general proposition, we can lose no more than two of the additional 21 Democrats on a reform issue if we are to prevail. We are consistently losing more than that and despite substantial pressure on the "apostates" have not been able to reverse that pattern. At least seven Democrats have consistently joined the Republicans, thus denying to us the margin we need.

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William M. Brodhead (Mich-17)

Michigan - There are two political entities, the Detroit metro area and outstate Michigan. The economic base is the automobile industry. Detroit is characterized by high wages and blue collar workers. Outstate Michigan is comprised of smaller cities and contains the state universities.

17th district - NW Detroit (central city 56%; suburbs 44%; white collar 58%; blue collar 31%) The economic base is Detroit's automobile industries. The area is usually Democratic.

Brodhead (36) Career: attorney; state legislature elected 1974. The base of his political support was the Liberal Conference (group formed in 1960's within the party to oppose the Vietnam War) that provided him with a solidly organized volunteer group.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	86	95
1975	96	

Election Results

	(·	
1976 gene	ral					
	Brodhead		113,746	(65%)	Carter (50%)	87,311
	James W. Burdick	(R)	60,476	(35%)		
				(070)		
1976 prim			36,785	(91%)		
	one other D)	3,803	(9%)		
1974 gene	ral					
	Brodhead	1	94,242	(70%)	(\$55,180)	
Vonn	eth C. Gallagher		39,856	(30%)	(\$97.)	
Kenn	eth C. Gallagher	(L)	33,030	しつひつり	ミヤファ・ ノ	

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Health; Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation)

James A. Burke (Mass.-11)

Massachusetts - Heavily Democratic; reputation as most liberal State. Democrats have 10 of 12 Congressional districts; 3 - 1 margin in State Senate. Carter election: Carter took 58% of vote (exceeded only by Georgia and Arkansas). Kennedy family played a crucial role in development of state's current politics.

11th District - includes southern 1/3 of Boston, most of South Shore suburbs and other suburbs including Brockton (shoe manufactures). Large percentage of Irish, Italian, Jewish heritage who are largely Democratic. Central city 49%, suburban 51%, white collar 54%, blue collar 33%.

Burke (67) Career: Boston city government; Army, WW II; Mass. legislature (held leadership positions); elected Congress 1958. Second ranking Democrat on Ways and Means, traditionalist, Wilbur Mills for President booster, co-sponsor of Burke-Hartke bill of early 70's which was strong protectionist legislation backed by AFL-CIO. Will probably retire in 1978.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	91	80
1975	100	
1974	100	

Election Results

1976 general

Burke 131,789 (69%) Carter (59%) 113,549
Danielle de Benedictis (I) 59,240 (31%)

1976 primary

Burke 39,872 (57%)
Patrick H. McCarthy (D) 29,722 (43%)
(son-in-law to Cong. Leggett (Calif.) and former aide to Cong. Moakley [Mass.-9])

1974 general

Burke, unopposed (\$39,707)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation; Social Security [Chairman])

Omar Burleson (Texas-17) Will Not Seek Reelection

Texas - Influenced by a moneyed establishment. Economic base: oil, petrochemical industry; construction (Brown and Root is one major example); insurance and computers. State has remained Democratic in name but is rather "Tory" in nature eq., Robert Strauss, Ralph Briscoe, Lloyd Bentsen. Large cities tend to vote for conservative Democrats or Republicans; this applies also to the various small oil cities. Working class middle-size cities and those with large Mexican-American populations vote more as liberals. Texas was a close and crucial state in past 3 presidential elections. Carter took 52% of vote in 1976.

17th district - large geographic region comprised of farming and grazing lands. Two urban areas: Abilene (89,000) and Big Spring (28,000). Conservative. Burleson has been unopposed in every primary and general election since 1964. White collar, 40%; blue collar, 34%.

Burleson (72) Career: attorney; judge; FBI agent; secretary to Rep. Sam Russell; General Counsel, National Housing Authority; WW II, Navy; elected 1946. Has one of Congress' most conservative voting records.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	13	7
1975	9	
1974	0	

Election Results

1976 general

Burleson, unopposed Carter (50%) 95,482

1976 primary

Burleson, unopposed

1974 general

Burleson, unopposed

COMMITTEES: Budget; Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Health; Miscellaneous Revenue Measures)

JAMES C. CORMAN (CALIF-21)

CALIFORNIA - economic base: finance, insurance, real estate, agriculture, aircraft & parts, tourism. Voter registration percentages: Democrat 57%, Republican 35%.

21st DISTRICT - Consists of San Fernando Valley (part of Los Angeles city), N. Hollywood (large Jewish Democratic groups), Van Nuys, Pacoima (black ghetto area). Central city 96%. Lockheed is important part of local economy. White collar: 55%, blue collar: 34%. Total foreign stock: 30%. Middle-of-the-road political area.

CORMAN (57) Career: Marine, WWII & Korea; attorney; City Council; National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders; elected 1960. Has a strong hold on his seat and no longer gets serious Republican competition. Often was opposed to Wilbur Mills on tax reform; sponsor of organized labor's bill for comprehensive federal financing of health care. Chosen in 1976 as Chairman of Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (doles out contributions & other assistance to Democratic candidates).

RATINGS	COPE	PC	
1976	87	85	
1975	100	_	
1974	100	_	

ELECTION RESULTS

1976 general						
	Corman	101,837	(70%)	Carter	(52%)	80,681
Erwin "Ed"	Hogan (R)	44,094	(30€)			

1976 primary

Corman, unopposed

1974 general					
	Corman	88,915	(74%)	(\$	77,204)
Mel Nade	11 (R)	32,038	(26%)	(3,603)

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Subcommittees: Health; Public Assistance & Unemployment Compensation (Chairman))

William R. Cotter (Conn-1)

Connecticut - state in political transition - 1976 election Ford took the state although registered Democrats outnumber Republicans. Connecticut party organizations have weakened. In the past the straight party lever helped the political bosses' control and few voters took the trouble to split a ticket.

First district contains Hartford (largest city and state capital) and most of outlying suburbs. Its economic base consists of insurance companies, defense industries (notably United Technology), airplane engine factories. White collar 58%; blue collar 31%; Black 10%; Foreign stock 34%. Population is 505,41%. central city: 35%; suburb 47%. Hartford city leaders have launched an ambitious and expensive regional development program - Greater Hartford Process.

Cotter (51) Career: local city government council member; aide to Gov. Ribicoff; Deputy Insurance Commissioner of Conn; Commissioner; elected 1970. He was first Congressional supporter of 1973 meat boycott; one of defendants in a Ralph Nader suit to void merger of ITT and the Hartford Insurance Co. (a merger which ITT was trying to preserve when it offered to finance the 1972 Republican National Convention.) Became member of Ways and Means Committee in 1975.

COPE	PC	
90	75	
83		
100		
	90 83	

Election Results

1976 general Cotter (D) 128,479 (58%) Carter (53%) 120,874 Lucien P. DiFazio Jr. (R) 94,106 (42%)

1976 primary unopposed

1974 general Cotter (D) 117,038 (64%) (\$52,604)

F. Mac Buckley (R) 67,080 (36%) (\$28,045)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Health; Social Security)

Joseph L. Fisher (Va-10)

Virginia - Politics controlled by the Byrd machine from 1925 until 1965. Growith of areas outside the Byrd power base, such as the Washington suburbs, Norfolk/Newport News, moved political control from hands of the Byrd family. The 1965 Voting Rights Act (which outlawed Poll tax) caused a breakdown of the conservative influence. Virginia was the only Southern state which did not go for Carter (51%-49%).

10th district - Washington D,C, suburban area (100% suburban; white collar 75%; blue collar 15%; white 95%) The economic base of the area is largely dependent upon the Federal government. Over one-third of wage earners are on the federal payroll.

Fisher (64) Career: National Resources Planning Board; Economist with State Department; Army WW II; Council of Economic Advisers (1947-53) Senior economist; Private reserach foundation (resources for the Future); Associate Director, President; member, Arlington County government. He has the reputation as a leading Congressional expert in energy matters.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	65	87
1975	86	

Election Results

1976 general	Fisher		103,689	(55%)	Carter	(48%)
Vincent F.	Callahan, Jr.	(R)	73,616	(39%)		92,341
E. Stanle	ey Rittenhouse	(I)	12,124	(6%)		

1976 primary

Fisher, unopposed

1974 general	Fisher	67,184	(54%)	(\$144,751)
	Broyhill (R)	56,649	(46%)	(\$248,709)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Trade; Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation); Budget Committee

Harold E. Ford (Tenn-8)

Eighth district - Contains Memphis and is major financial and commercial center for most of the lower Mississippi Valley. Central city 99%; - white collar 47%; blue collar 36%; black 47%. The voting patterns in Memphis are racially polarized. Memphis is a city dominated primarily by blacks who vote strongly Democratic. The Memphis suburbs are dominated by whites who vote Republican.

Ford (32) Career: Mortician; Tennessee legislature, elected 1974. He is a member of a local political family. He has a positive image - reputation is that he makes few concessions to the white voters. The man he beat, by 744 votes, Kuykendall (similar in attitude to Republican Regan), did not listen to the black vote in this district.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	91	86
1975	96	

Election Results

1976 general	Ford	100,683	(61%)	Carter	(65%)	111,229
A.D. Alissand	lratos (R)	63,819	(39%)			•

1976 primary Ford unopposed

1974 general	Ford	67,925	(50%)	(\$146,940)
	uykendall (R)	67,181	(50%)	(\$132,411)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Health; Oversight)

Richard A. Gephardt (Mo-3)

Missouri - This state is politically dominated by Democrats (Southern rural; Kansas City Urban) Carter took the state by 51%. The economic base is agriculture, consisting of livestock, soybeans, and dairy products.

3rd district - It is south side of St Louis and part of suburban St. Louis county (central city 67%; suburban 33%) The redistricting of St. Louis separated white and black areas. The district is 92% white. There is a German ethnic presence in the south St. Louis area that was formerly represented by Leonor Sullivan.

Gephardt (37) Career: attorney; St. Louis City
Alderman; elected in 1976. He ran a heavy media campaign.

RATINGS

NA

Election Results

	Gephardt(D) Badaracco (R)		(64%) (36%)	Carter	(49%) 85,741
1976 primary	Gephardt (D)	48,874	(56%)		
	. Gralike (D)	32,791	(38%)		
Two	Other D's	5,640	(6%)		

COMMITTEE: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Oversight; Social Security)

Sam Gibbons (Florida-7)

Florida - "No Southern state has changed in the last generation more than Florida". Changes have occured primarily because of inward migration. After 1980, it is predicted that Florida will be 7th largest state. Politically, state is divided into various vote patterns: 1) northern part has changed the least and still retains a southern rural background, voting much like adjacent Alabama and Georgia 2) Miami Beach has many former Jewish New Yorkers and votes as that area does is predominantly Midwestern WASPs who tend towards Goldwater Republicanism. Carter received 53% of vote in general election. State has a media reputation for political shenanigans (real estate, construction, condo-Reportedly, there is bad feeling and rivalry between President Carter and Governor Rubin Askew. Economic base: citrus industry, insurance and real estate, tourism, processed food industry.

7th district - Dominated by Tampa; has large, wellestablished Cuban-American community, pre-dating Castro refugees, who are traditionally Democratic. Cigar industry prominent business. Central city, 39%; Suburban, 61%; White collar, 49%; Blue collar 36%; Spanish-speaking, 12%.

Gibbons (58) Career: WW II, Army; attorney; state legislature; elected 1962. Early supporter of civil rights legislation. Has been major pusher for tax reform and was often at odds with former Chairman Mills.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	45	7.1
1975	55	
1974	60	

Election Results

1976 general

Gibbons 102,739 (66%) Carter (54%)
Dusty Owens (R) 53,599 (34%) 88,612

1976 primary

Gibbons, unopposed

1974 general

Gibbons, unopposed (\$ 6,228)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Oversight (Chairman); Trade)

Kenneth Holland (S. Car.-5)

South Carolina - The state was settled by large landholders who farmed sugar, rice, and indigo.

South Carolina is one of the lowest ranking states in per capita income, education and health services. It is characterized by poor voter participation. Its economic base consists of textile mills and numerous military bases in the Charleston area.

Voting Rights Act changed state politics. The well-to-do suburban, large city whites (heavy defense spending) are generally Republicans who have supported Goldwater, Reagan, and Thurmond.

Recently enfranchised black voters (one-third of the constituents) usually vote Democratic.

The blue collar (textile mills) and farmers, have (since the Civil Rights Act) generally favored Republican candidates though Carter took 57%.

5th district - It is composed of various textile towns where whites outnumber blacks. Carter took 61% of the 5th district vote. (white collar 30%; blue collar 56%)

Holland (43) Career: S.C. Highway Commission employee; construction; attorney; legal counsel for S.C. Democratic Party; elected 1974.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	52	46
1975	45	

Election Results

1976 general

Holland 66,073 (52%) Carter (61%) 77,715

Bobby Richardson (R) 62,095 (48%)

(Richardson was former NY Yankee player, immensely popular in S.C.)

1976 primary

Holland, unopposed

1974 general	Holland	47,614	(62%)	(\$96,834)
B. Ler	n Phillips (R)	29,294	(38%)	(\$44,759)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Miscellaneous Revenue Measures; Trade)

Andy Jacobs (Ind-11)

Indiana is characterized by organization politics, partisan politicians, and a large number of patronage jobs. Nearly every partisan official and each employee under him must return 2% of his salary to respective party treasury.

The economic base of the state is primary metal industries such as blast furnaces and steel mills.

11th district - Contains most of Indianapolis, state capital (central city 93%; suburban 7% - white collar 53%; blue collar 34%). Major businesses include banking, insurance companies, state government, and it is the National Headquarters of the American Legion. Essentially it is a conservative Republican area.

Jacobs (46) Career: USMC, Korea; attorney; state legislature. First elected to Congress 1964 -1972. He was defeated in 1972 but reelected in 1974.

Jacobs is known as a liberal Democrat with carefree attitude toward politics. He is married to Congresswoman Martha Keys. Moved to Ways and Means Committee in 1975. Has recently been viewed as more conservative.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	55	74
1975	70	
1974		

Election Results

1976 general Jacobs Lawrence L. Buell (R)	115,895 (61%) 74,829 (39%)	Carter (45%) 86,916
1976 primary Jacobs two other D's	32,933 (90%) 3,616 (10%)	
1974 general Jacobs William H. Hurdnut, III(R)	81,508 (52%) 73,793 (48%)	

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Public Assistance & Unemployment Compensation; Social Security)

Edgar L. Jenkins (Ga.-9)

Georgia - Georgia politics recently have focused on race and civil right causes. The economic base is textile mill products and agriculture.

9th district - It is the NE corner of Georgia
This area consists of the southernmost ridges of Appalachian
mountains and contains a large amount of textile concerns.
Representing the area for over twenty years was Phil
Landrum, a protectionist on Ways and Means. Landrum
also pushed some labor law reforms that were not supported
by organized labor.

Jenkins (45) Career: Coast Guard; Administrative Aide to Congressman Landrum; assistant U.S. Attorney (North Georgia); practicing attorney; elected 1976. Jenkins was the former aide and law partner of Congressman Landrum. He is expected to follow the same policies of Landrum.

RATINGS

NA

Election Results

1976 general Jenkins		113,245	(79%)	Carter	(71%)
Louise Wafford	(R)	29,954	(21%)		117,461
1976 run-off Jenkins		58,905	(55%)		
J. Albert Minish	(D)	47,963	(45%)		
1976 primary Jenkins		33,491	(.28%)		-
J. Albert Minish	(D)	25,792	(21%)		
Ray Gunnin		22,392	(19%)		
Alton Bridges		15,416	(13%)		
Four other D		23,106	(19%)		

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Miscellaneous Revenue Measures; Trade)

James R. Jones (Okla-1)

Oklahoma - Traditionally Democratic but increasingly, since 1964, has been dependably Republican. Oklahoma City and Tulsa are Republican strongholds. Carter lost Oklahoma to Ford by 51% - 49% margin. Its economic base consists of agriculture, oil, and gas extraction.

1st district - Contains Tulsa and suburban areas of neighboring counties. Central City 78%; suburbs 18%; white collar 55%; blue collar 31%. Tulsa - Major regional center of oil industry, deeply conservative and rapidly growing area. Home of fundamentalist Oral Roberts University. In 1972 elections, Tulsa supported Nixon with 79% of the vote.

Jones (38) Career: Legislative assistant to Congressman Ed Edmondson in 1964; Army; White House Staff Assistant to President Johnson, 1965-69; attorney; elected 1972.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	41	2.3
1975	43	
1974	60	

Election Results

Jones James M. Inhofe (R)	100,945	(54%)	Carter (38%)
	84,374	(46%)	71,228
1976 primary Jones one other D	31,912 8,113	(80%) (20%)	
1974 general Jones	88,159	(68%)	(\$60,686)
George A. Mizer, Jr. (R)	41,697	(32%)	(\$17,878)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Oversight: Trade)

Martha Keys (Kans-2)

Kansas - traditionally conservative and Republican. The economic base is largely agriculture.

2nd district - Northeastern corner of the state, only part of state to elect a Democratic Congressman between 1960 and 1976. This contains Topeka (state capital and third largest city) and small part of Kansas City. Menninger Clinic is also located here. (Central city 28%; suburban 14% - white collar 49%; blue collar 30%; farm 7%)

Martha keys (47) is the sister of Mrs. Gary Hart. A liberal, she was State Coordinator of McGovern for President in 1972. She was elected in 1974.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	73	83
1975	91	

Election Results

1976 general	Keys		88,645	(52%)	Carter (45%)	
	Freeman	(R)	82,946	(48%)	78,8	81

1976 primary Keys, unopposed

1974 general	Keys	84,864	(56%)	(\$ 88,959)
John C. Per	etson (R)	67.650	(44%)	(\$114.214)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittee: Health; Public Assistance & Unemployment Compensation)

Raymond F. Lederer (Penn-3)

Pennsylvania is currently experiencing population losses. 1950, had 32 seats in the House - 1970, has 25 seats in the House. The economic base is the steel industry. Carter took the state by only 51%.

3rd district - Contains Center City Philadelphia (downtown), as well as parts of N. Philadelphia black ghetto and poor ethnic Irish/Italian areas. Central city 100%; white collar 40%; blue collar 45%; black 28%; total foreign 22%.

Lederer (35) Career: Public school football coach and commissioner. He was a Philadelphia probation officer and a member of the state legislature. He was elected in 1976.

RATINGS

NA

Election Results

1976 general Terrence J.		98,627 35,491	•	Carter	(68%) 101,997
1976 primary Five O	Lederer ther D's	24,468 18,652			

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Miscellaneous Revenue Measures; Social Security)

Abner J. Mikva (Ill-10)

10th district - is a suburban Chicago district created in 1971 by court order. It contains Evanston (Northwestern University) and various other North Shore suburbs. Suburban 100% - white collar 74%; blue collar 18%. It is a very wealthy area. The 1970 census shows 10th district has the second highest mediun family income in the U.S. Politically it is neither a Republican nor Democratic stronghold. Carter took only 39% of the vote. It tends to be a liberal area possibly caused by large Jewish community and University liberals. WASP vote has in recent years tended to be a little more liberal as a result of post Nixon/Watergate era.

Mikva (52) Career: Army Air Corps, WW II; law clerk for U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton 1951-52; attorney; state legislature 1957-67; member U.S. Congress 1969-73 (but not representing 10th district); Chairman Illinois Board of Ethics. Regarded as a liberal; vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; labor and civil liberties lawyer; opponent of Daley machine, advocate of tax reform. Elected 10th district Rep. 1974.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	83	96
1975	95	

Election Results

1976 general	Mikva	106,804	(208)	Carter	(39%)	89,608
Samuel	H. Young (R)	106,680	(50%)			
(Mikva	won by 201 votes)				

1976 primary Mikva, unopposed

1974 general	Mikva	83,457	(51%)	(\$286,225)
	Young (R)	80,597	(49%)	(\$251,249)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Social Security)

OTIS G. PIKE (NY-1) - WILL NOT SEEK REELECTION

NEW YORK - A state where 1/3 of the population are either immigrants or have at least one foreign parent. New York electorate: Ethnic Democrats; WASP Upstate & wealthy Republicans; liberal leftish bloc Jewish immigrants. Carter carried state with 52% of vote. Economic base: finance, insurance, textiles.

1st DISTRICT - Includes eastern end of Long Island,
50 - 100 miles from Manhattan. Best known areas include beach
resorts of the Hamptons and Montauk. Population of district
doubled durings 60s. Politically, a conservative area. Most
new migrants are Catholics of Italian, Irish or German
origin. Defense insustry (Grumman, Republic Aviation, Brookhaven National Laboratory) are biggest employers. President
Carter lost this district. Suburban: 100%; white collar: 55%;
blue collar: 30%; foreign stock: 28%.

PIKE (56) Career: USMC, WWII; attorney; Justice of the Peace; Vice President, Long Island Home, Ltd.; Director, Central Suffolk Hospital; elected 1960. Former member of Hse. Armed Services Committee; switched to Ways & Means after 1974. Frequently described as witty, sharp-dresser, unorthodox, skeptic about efficacy of much domestic government spending. Chairman of special Committee investigating CIA.

RATINGS	COPE	PC	
1976	74	82	
1975	82	-	
1974	82	-	

Election Results

1976 general						
	Pike	135,528	(65%)	Carter	(468)	98,409
Salvatore C. Nic	osia (R)	61,671	(30%)			•
Seth C. Mo		10,269	(5%)			

1976 primary

Pike, unopposed

1974 genèral					
	Pike		101,130	(65%)	(\$26,907)
Donald R.	Sallan	(R)	44,513	(29%)	(4,999)
Seth C.	Morgan	(C)	10,038	(6%)	(4,114)

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Subcommittees: Health; Trade); Budget; JEC (Subcommittees: Fiscal & Intergovernmental Policy; Priorities and Economy in Government)

J.J. PICKLE (TEXAS-10)

10th DISTRICT - home of LBJ, central Texas. Good relationship exists between white majority and blacks (14%) and Mexican-Americans (14%). Contains Austin (state capital, LBJ library, TV Station KLBJ of Johnson family ownership), Johnson City, & LBJ Ranch in Blanco County. Austin contains 1/2 of district's residents. Economic base of city is state government and higher education (University of Texas). Liberal element in Austin generally votes Democratic unless Democratic candidate is a Conservative. In this case voters are known to vote for Republican candidates. The liberals, however, remain a negligible force in 10th district politics. White collar: 53%; blue collar: 26%; Central city: 54%; suburban: 9%.

PICKLE (64) Career: Area Director, National Youth Administration; Navy, WWII; Co-organizer, KVET radio, Austin; advertising & public relations business; Director, Texas State Democratic Executive Committee; Member, Texas Employment Commission; elected 1963. Part of Democratic establishment. Viewed as being sympathetic to economic interests of Texans, rich or poor.

RATINGS	COL	PE PC
1976	57	2,9
1975	36	-
1974	63	-

Election Results

1976 general				
Pickle	160,683	(77%)	Carter (54%)	115,946
Paul McClure (1	R) 48,482	(23%)		,. , .
1976 primary				
Pickle	88,949	(83%)		
One other (D)	18,528	(17%)		
1974 general				
Pickle	76,240	(80%)	(\$180,294)	
Paul A. Weiss ()	R) 18,560	(20%)	(500)	

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Subcommittees: Oversight; Social Security)

Charles B. Rangel (NY-19)

19th district - includes Harlem and part of upper West Side (white liberal). Population of Harlem dropped 20% during 1960s. Many Johnson anti-poverty programs were put in place in this district but proved to be of little help in bettering poor peoples incomes or abilities. Harlem was formerly represented by Adam Clayton Powell. Central city; 100%; Spanish 17%; district population - 466,876

Rangel (47) Career: Army; Assistant U.S. Attorney; Legal Counsel for NYC Housing and Redevelopment Board; General Counsel, National Advisory Commission on Selective Service; N.Y. State Assembly; elected 1970 (by defeating Powell).

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	87	98
1975	100	
1974	100	

Election Results

1976 general

	Rangel (DLR)	91,672	(100%)	Carter	(87%) 99,111
1976 primary	Rangel, unopp	osed			·
1974 general	Rangel (DLR)	63.146	(100%)	(\$15.53	(6)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Oversight; Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation)

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI (ILLINOIS-8)

ILLINOIS - state has reputation for tough, patronage-minded politicians/Daley Machine & strong Republican counterpart. Prosecutions by State officials beginning in early 70s have helped begin reforms.

8th DISTRICT - part of North and Northwest sides of Chicago (middle-income area), also contains part of West Side ghetto (ethnic, contains 4th largest Polish-American concentration of any district in nation). Politically dependent on ward organizations. Strong allegiance to Democratic party. Central City 100%; white collar 39%, blue collar 49%.

ROSTENKOWSKI (50) Career: Army, Korea; Illinois legislature; elected to Congress 1958. 3rd ranking on Ways & Means. Presuming Burke retires in 1978, Rostenkowski will be #2 and probably wait to suceed Ullman. In 1968 was elected Democratic Caucus Chairman but ousted in 1970. In 1976, led the Majority Leadership candidacy of Jim Wright who defeated Burton of Calif. by 1 vote (Burton was 1974 Caucus Chairman).

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	91	7,9
1975	100	-
1974	90	- :

ELECTION RESULTS

1976 general					
	Rostenkowski	105,595	(81%)	Carter	(70%)
John F. Urba	szewski (R)	25,512		`	100,266

1976 primary

Rostenkowski, unopposed

1974 general	·				
	Rostenkowski	75,011	(87%)	(\$	25,720)
Salvatore E.	Oddo (R)	11,664	(13%)	(\$	0)

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Subcommittees: Health (Chairman); Trade)

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (Calif.-9)

9th district - nominally a Democratic district though inconsistent element present. Southern Oakland and southern suburbs along with portions of eastern Alameda; Central city 28%; Suburb 72% - White collar 52%; blue collar 35% - Ethnic, black 14%; Spanish 12% (464,934 Pop.)

Stark (46) Career: Air Force; Banker (Founder: Beacon Savings and Loan Association; Founder and President, National Bank, Walnut Creek) elected 1972 - Won seat of 81 year old George Miller (had represented district for 28 years and was routinely reelected until 1972).

Strong Vietman War opponent; former Common Cause Board Member - liberal banker, spent large amount of his money on 72 primary in which Representative Miller was defeated. 1972 - first term - Banking Committee member - voted against big financial institutions' interests. 1974 - moved to Ways and Means committee - expected that Stark will support efforts to make tax structure more progressive.

RATINGS		COPE	PC
1976	-	87	98
1975		95	
1974		100	

Election Results

	Stark Miller (F	116,398 R) 44,607	•	Carter	(56%)	91,871
•						

1976 primary unopposed

1974 general	Stark		92,436	(71%)	(\$60,642)
Edson	Adams	(R)	38,521	(29%)	(\$23,778)

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittee: Oversight; Public Assistance & Unemployment Compensation); District of Columbia (Subcommittee: Judiciary)

Jim Guy Tucker (Ark-2)

Arkansas - In recent years, the economy and growth rate have grown rapidly. This is primarily because of efforts of former Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller to attract industry to the state. Large amounts of federal money has funneled into the state because of his efforts. The power sway seems to be moving to the New South Democrates. Carter carried the state with 65%.

The economic base of the state is agriculture (soybean, poulty, cattle, and lumber).

2nd district - This area contains Little Rock and was formerly represented by Wilbur Mills. Central city 40%; suburban 27%; white collar 46%; blue collar 37%.

Tucker (34) Career: reporter (Vietnam); attorney; prosecuting attorney; attorney general; elected 1976.) He has a reputation as being liberal, consumer activist, a civil rights supporter, hardworking and ambitious.

RATINGS

NA

Election Results

1976 general Tucker James J. Kelly (R)	144,780 22,819	(86%) (14%)	Carter	(68%) 126,790
1976 primary Tucker	64,043	(52%)		
William Penn Clark C.V. Ford	17,534 15,865	(14%) (13%)		
Cal Ledbetter Two Others	13,316 13,037	(11%) (11%)		

COMMITTEES: Ways and Means (Subcommittees: Public Assistance & Unemployment Compensation; Social Security)

AL ULLMAN (OREGON-2)

OREGON - State seems to seek negative growth (18% during 1960s and fell to 11% during 1970-76 period). Economic base: lumber & wood products. State supports candidates of political center.

2nd DISTRICT - contains 25% of state's population and 73% of land area (lumber/timber); also has 2 Portland suburbs. Employment profile: white collar 43%, blue collar 34%. Area seems to support public power development & is not overly concerned with environmental causes.

ULLMAN (64) Career: Navy, WWII; real estate broker & builder; first elected 1956. Initially, "fiery liberal"-recent years has become more conservative. Not a crusader for tax reform and not generally anxious to change status quo.

RATINGS	COPE	PC	
1976	57	54	
1975	91	_	
1974	82	-	

ELECTION RESULTS

1976	general				
	Primary	Ullman Thomas H. Mercer	173,313 (R) 67,431	(72%) (28%)	Carter (49%) 118,067
		Ullman, unopposed			
1974	general		140.063	(700)	(¢ 40 406)
		Ullman	140,963	(788)	(\$ 49,496)

Kenneth A. Brown (R) 39,441 (22%) (\$ 629)

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Chairman)

CHARLES A. VANIK (OHIO-22)

OHIO - marginal state politically although has reputation of being Republican. Ohio provided the crucial electoral votes that elected Carter. Economic base: farming & heavy industry/steel.

22nd DISTRICT - eastern half of Cleveland suburbs plus small part of Cleveland itself. Central city 3%, suburbs 97%. Suburbs are heavily ethnic (32%); also contains Shaker Heights (wealthy WASPs & Jews). Although on balance a Democratic district, Carter did not carry it. White collar 63%, blue collar 29%.

VANIK (64) Career: attorney; Ohio State legislature; Cleveland Board of Education; Navy, WWII; Cleveland Library Board; municipal Court judge; elected 1954 21st Congressional district & served for 14 years in US Congress; moved into 22nd when 21st became majority black; elected 22nd 1968. East European ancestry. Longtime supporter of Israel. Liberal. Pushes for major progressive tax reforms. Main sponsor and lobbyist of Jackson-Vanik amendment which denies Soviet Union most favored nation treatment until free immigration of Jews allowed.

RATINGS	COPE	PC	
1976	86	98	
1975	86	_	
1974	91	-	

ELECTION RESULTS

1976 general	Vanik	128,372 (75%)	Carter (50%)
	Harry A. Hanna (R)	42,715 (25%)	99,195
1976 primary	Vanik one other Democrat	55,813 (93%) 4,075 (7%)	

5

1974 general

Vanik 112,671 (79%) (\$ 649)

William J. Franz (R) 30,585 (21%) (4,190)

COMMITTEES: Ways & Means (Subcommittees: Health, Trade (Chairman))

Joe D. Waggonner (Louisiana-4) - Will Not Seek Reelection

Louisiana - Huey P. Long influence on State continues into the 70's. Long was considered a radical leftist whose "share the wealth" program created enough pressure to move FDR to back Social Security and the Wagner Act in 1936. Long Family and allies have dominated La. politics since the 30s. French/Creole influence in state. Electorate divides along lines of language, religion, race and sometines voters' attitudes towards Long family. Generally, most rich people oppose Longs; poor people love them. Bribery and election fraud have determined many election outcomes. Governor Edwards nominated Gov. Jerry Brown for President. Economic base: finance, insurance, and real estate; agriculture (cattle, soybeans, rice); oil and gas; chemicals; shipbuilding.

4th district - Within Northern Louisiana; contains Shreveport, oil city, conservative area. President Ford carried Shreveport area with 59% of vote, this is considered a traditional Southern Democratic district. Central city, 40%; suburban, 25%; white collar, 44%; blue collar 37%; black, 31%

Waggonner (59) Career: Army, WW II and Korea; wholesale petroleum products distribution industry; parish school board; State Board of Education; elected 1961. Likes to be considered a country hick but in reality is one of the House's better legislative strategists. Most important function is to present sophisticated technical and legal arguments in Ways and Means Committee against various liberal proposals to plug loopholes. Leading voice for business interests; key legislative strategist for unorganized southern conservative Democrats. A good friend of Wilbur Mills and strong supporter of President Nixon.

RATINGS	COPE	PC
1976	22	5
1975	13	
1974	18	

Election Results

1976 general	Waggonner,	unoppos	ed	Carter	(46%)	66,125
1976 primary	Waggonner one other D					

1974 general

Waggonner, unopposed

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

MR. PRESIDENT

NUNN CANNOT COME UNTIL LATE IN THE AFTERNOON. THERE IS NO OTHER TIME AVAILABLE UNLESS YOU WANT TO HAVE LUNCH WITH HIM.

HAVE LUNCH_	
OTHER	



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HUGH CARTER

SUBJECT:

Weekly Mail Report (Per Your Request)

Below are statistics on Presidential and First Family:

INCOMING	WEEK ENDING 4/14	WEEK ENDING 4/21
Presidential First Lady Amy	34,875 1,265 510	30,400 1,875 460
Other First Family	70	55
TOTAL	36,720	32,790
BACKLOG		
Presidential First Lady Amy Other	5,645 95 0	6,165 590 150 0
TOTAL	5,740	6,905
DISTRIBUTION OF	PRESIDENTIAL MAIL	ANALYZED
DISTRIBUTION OF Agency Referrals	PRESIDENTIAL MAIL	ANALYZED 9%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence	7% 56%	9% 53%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File	78 568 228	9% 53% 19%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File White House Staff	7% 56% 22% 3%	9% 53% 19% 4%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File	78 568 228	9% 53% 19%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File White House Staff	7% 56% 22% 3%	9% 53% 19% 4%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File White House Staff Other	7% 56% 22% 3% 12%	9% 53% 19% 4% 15%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File White House Staff Other TOTAL	7% 56% 22% 3% 12%	9% 53% 19% 4% 15%
Agency Referrals WH Correspondence Direct File White House Staff Other TOTAL NOT INCLUDED ABOVE	7% 56% 22% 3% 12%	9% 53% 19% 4% 15%

cc: Senior Staff

MAJOR ISSUES IN CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL ADULT MAIL Week Ending 4/21/78

ISSUES	PRO	CON	COMMENT ONLY	NUMBER OF LETTERS
Support for Production of Neutron Weapons	35%	65%	0	1,191
Support for Proposed Middle East Aircraft Sale	0	100%	0	859
Support for Supply of Paraquat Spray to Mexico	1%	99%	0	654
Suggestions re: Tax Reform Package	0	0	100%	592
Support for President's Proposal to Increase Aid for Financing Higher Education	11%	89%	0	550
Suggestions re: Middle East Peace	0	0	100%	505
Support for President's Farm Income Aid Proposals 3/29/78	14%	70%	16%	257
			TOTAL	4,608

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4-21-18

Rosalynn-Let's have Sum & Carfene over- He particularly likes movies-

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lunch with sam nunn 4/21/78

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Jam

Senate will be worse

Jim

Committee worse than ever Hold down tax cuts-

RE

Cotter, Buche not helping "How to get offstage gracefully

Abner

19 votes not there 7 20 votes clos mu lay Weel to minimize losses

RIII

WH don't Ofen anything WH feat CR divided little foyalty to Pres

Gerhardt

Cap gains has 22 votes
Big money , tenns lost by 100 the

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Sam Meet & Conable, Steiger Trenzel

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Jody
Jank

More on shong

Cambodian statement.

(Remore references

to "reports". State

accusa hois more as

a fact).

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4-21-78

To Jim
Stu
Stu
Expedite pension
Commission